According to the same informant, some warriors from this village had returned from a war a few days previously, bringing back with them the mummified heads of two of their enemies, necklaces of human teeth, and other trophies.

As it turned out, I did not regret my choice, for I was well received in Necodemos and I encountered there, more vivid than anywhere else, the legend of Mundurucu beginnings which considers this very maleca or village the cradle of the human race.

I continued up the Cadereri, strange river! Every day we had to carry bodily our light boat over sand bars. Here was confirmed an opinion I had already formed, namely, that the Cadereri, as well as the Araguaia, Juruena, Mamoré, and other upper branches of the great southern tributaries of the Amazon, such as the Tocantins, the Tapajoz, the Madeira and others, would dry up completely during the summer months, baring their channels, were it not for the falls of the middle course which serve to dam up the violent flow of the stream. The average gradient on the middle course of these great Amazon tributaries, which descend from the central plateau, is steeper than necessary to maintain a normal flow of water. [76]

Finally, on the morning of the sixth day as calculated by the Indian, we came upon a tree thrown across the river in the form of a bridge. On the bank stood a crude hut. There was no one around. We blew a horn to call out the owner of the hut, who was probably out hunting in the nearby woods. As no one appeared, we continued our journey. I left behind some trifling gifts to mark the passage of a friendly person.

I thought it best to behave in this fashion, remembering that Lieutenant Captain Soares Pinto had been attacked and killed by the savages for having destroyed some bridges which they had laid across the river. It is impossible to proceed upriver without destroying the bridges, and it is not always feasible to replace them.

For this reason, whenever I found myself unable to replace one in the same spot -- and on that day we encountered four more bridges -- I left gifts to make up in some degree for the damage I had caused the savages. At the end of the day the river became totally impassable: we could not carry the canoe any further. Happily, at this difficult moment we found another bridge over the river and a hut upon the bank. We blew our horn persistently.

[i.e., Necodemos - Analyst]

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IV

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A Mundurucu makes me a present of the mummified head of a Parintintin girl, and tells me how and why he killed her.

[431] One of these barbarians, who was twenty-five or thirty years old, outgoing and bold, and a voluble talker, make me a present on the following day of the mummified head of a Parintintin girl. This head, which is now to be found in the National Museum [Rio de Janeiro], retains its abundant hair, which is partly shaved in front as though with a razor. The forehead thus appears to be prolonged nearly to the middle of the skull; in the center of this artificial forehead stands a circular cluster of black hair. This head, which was ornamented with [84] brilliantly colored feathers, must have belonged to a girl fashionable in her own tribe.

[724] Here I must point out that the Mundurucu often make war on enemy heathens for the purpose of capturing women and children rather than killing them. They do kill the men, whose heads they preserve as trophies. When preparing for these forays, they frankly say: "I am going because I need a woman to marry, or a little one to be my wife's child."

A Mundurucu warrior would therefore be greatly concerned to capture rather than to kill a girl like the one whose head was offered me.

Indeed, the barbarian told me that he had killed her by mistake, failing in the heat of battle to discern her sex. She was running out of the hut which he and his companions had taken at dawn by surprise, and he had thrown himself upon her, piercing her through the back with his powerful spear. He felt sorry when he found that she was a woman, and a young one at that. But nevertheless he cut off her head, removing the brain, and smoked it over a green wood fire until it became mummified.

[729] It was strange to witness the extreme tenderness the barbarian bestowed on this enemy head. A deadly hatred has ruled for many years between the Mundurucu and Parintintin tribes, and wars of extermination take place between them.

[See p. 9, cat. 16, - Revised]

Yet this Mundurucu had gone nearly mad over the Parintintin head. He would not part with it for an instant. When the time came for me to leave Necodemos, as I shall relate below, he and twelve other Indians escorted me on my eight-day journey through the forest to the headwaters of the Cadereri. In the course of this trip, when evening came and we had to stop for the night, the Indian would thrust into the ground next to his hammock a staff which he carried expressly [85] for this purpose, and on which he would hang the head, as if on a clothes-rack, covering it carefully with a cloth I had given him.

At dawn, his first glance was for the head: he would place it in his lap, run his fingers through its long hair, and caress it as if it were a beloved daughter.

He only handed me this relic at the last moment, when I had already embarked for my descent of the Cadereri, and then he still said: "But I wanted it for myself!" I must say I had made him a present of a double-barrelled shotgun, some gunpowder, shot-lead, and other objects. Nevertheless, his gaze followed us until our canoe had vanished down the river.

In Necodemos there was yet another mummified head. It had been the head of a Parintintin warrior. The Mundurucu who owned it, already quite old, did not wish to show it to me and would not talk about it: I did not press the issue. Some of the Mundurucu wore necklaces made from the teeth of enemies they had killed.

I saw children said by my interpreter to be captives taken in the last war. The villagers, however, did not even mention the subject; perhaps they feared that we should want to take their prisoners from them.

V

Legend of Mundurucu beginnings. -- Beliefs and traditions. -- Appearance of "Caru-Sacaebe." -- Ingratitude of the inhabitants of Acupari -- Punishment. -- Necodemos as the cradle of the human race.

It seemed to me that I could distinguish traces of an ancient civilization among these strange people. The Mundurucu

VII

Early notices of the Mundurucu -- Historical records

175 [131] The Mundurucu villages are located in the valley of the mighty Tapajoz, which was discovered only 130 years ago, in 1748, when the miner João de Sousa de Azevedo traveled down the river from Mato-Grosso to Pará, carrying sixty-four drams of gold extracted from one of its tributaries which he named the Rio das Três Barras. [91]

14 131 In his Corographia Brasilica of 1817, Ayres de Cazal divided the province of Para into four large districts, bounded naturally by the four great tributaries of the Amazon, the Tocantins, the Xingu, the Tapajoz, and the Madeira. For obvious reasons of Mundurucu preponderance in the area, he gave the name of Mundurucania to the district bounded in the east by the Tapajoz, in the west by the Madeira, in the north by the Amazon and in the south by the Juruena. In describing Mundurucania, this author says that with 101 the exception of a few stretches along the banks of the rivers which bound it, the district was completely dominated by various savage nations, the best known being the Juma, the Maué, the Pama, the Parintintin, the Mura, the Andirá, the Arara, and the Mundurucu after whom the country was named.

[302 384] "The Mundurucu," Ayres de Cazal goes on to say, "who have the custom of dyeing their bodies black with genipap, are numerous, tall, warlike, and feared by all the other nations, who give them the name of Pai-quicé, which means 'head-cutter,' owing [727] to their custom of chopping off the head of any foe who falls into their hands; and they know how to embalm it so as to preserve for many years the appearance it had on being cut.

[622] "They adorn their crude and wretched huts with these horrid trophies. The man who can exhibit ten of them is qualified to be elected chief of the band. They know the virtues of various plants, which they use in curing certain dangerous ailments.

[648] "Nearly all Mundurucu bands are today our allies, and some are already christianized.

[31] the plains] are not located in the district which Ayres de Cazal named Mundurucania. They stand in the territory which the geographer called Tapajonia, between the Tapajoz and the Xingu and close to the sources of the eastern tributaries of the Tapajoz, namely the Cadereri, Cabetutum and Cururu rivers, the Rio das Tropas (which the Mundurucu call Pitunzi) and the Rio do Crepuri.

In the course of my journey I encountered a great many small streams that were sources of the Cadereri and tributaries of the Tapajoz.

Had I proceeded in the same direction beyond Necodemos a few days longer, I would undoubtedly have come upon the sources of the tributaries of the Xingu.

IX

Wars of the Mundurucu -- waging procedure -- End of these wars.

727 547 We have already noted that the wars of these barbarians are waged with the sole aim of capturing young women and children of both sexes. Within the tribe, however, the captives are treated no differently than native Mundurucu. They are painted with the same arabesques of indelible dyes; the woman immediately gets a husband, and the child finds an adoptive father who is almost invariably the same Indian who captured him. When preparations are made for one of these forays, the warrior's sister, his mother, or some other relative places an order for a child, saying: "Bring me a boy to be my son."

[649] The Mundurucu's chief victims are the Parintintin; in addition to a desire for captives, the deadly hatred [94] which has long ruled between the two tribes is another motive for frequent attacks.

721 Whenever it becomes known that a band of Parintintin have appeared somewhere, the Mundurucu immediately set off after them. To my knowledge, however, this inveterate hatred is not directed toward other tribes. Among the Mundurucu there runs a

721 tale, probably inaccurate, that whenever one of them is captured by the Parintintin he is devoured alive by the mouthful, "as if they were jaguars and we were deer."

Inaccurate or not, this tale serves to fire even more the Mundurucu desire for vengeance.

726 Those wars to which we have referred are usually mere forays.

When summer comes, a number of Mundurucu get together, make ready their bows, arrows, horns and provisions, and then set off.

Whenever possible, each warrior is accompanied by his wife or by a sister. The role of this sutler, who sometimes is no older than fifteen or sixteen, consists of slinging the warrior's hammock on a tree, preparing his chestnuts, carrying the load, and helping to prepare the enemy head and to bring in the captives; in short, she does whatever is needed to leave him entirely free for the attack.

They go hunting leisurely along the way, and these raids last for weeks and even months. At night they all gather and camp together.

If they find some trail in the depths of the woods, or some other sign pointing to the passage of a human being, they study it with rare prudence and subtlety. If they spy a hut or a village, they make a reconnaissance [95] in the greatest possible silence; and they walk so adroitly that not even the dry leaf they crush underfoot can be heard. It is as though they walked on a thick rug. They surround the hut and silently wait for dawn. Then they set it ablaze with a long staff, its end covered with flaming pitch, and post themselves in ambush near the door.

Suddenly awakened, the besieged occupants immediately let out the terrible cry, "Mundurucu!"

Those confused men who attempt to break through the ring of besiegers are immediately pierced with enormous spears.

The children, aware that they are at the mercy of the enemy, give themselves up.

The women nearly always offer resistance, put up a fight, and are made prisoners only by sheer force.

727 And then the Mundurucu retreat on the double. The enemy heads are cut off and hastily prepared. They travel day and night

727 when they feel or fear they are being pursued. At night they
[373] guide themselves with torches made with fragments of a resinous wood which they call ouichique-taque, and which the Indians of the Lower Tapajoz know by the name of pau candeia [(Port.) "lamp wood"]. This wood, when dry, catches fire easily; it blazes brightly when carried on the run.

726 Almost invariably these expeditions last so long that the
[262] Indians run out of provisions and subsist on chestnuts rather than manioc flour and sweet potatoes. They suffer long privations; some of them return thin.

It is maintained that the Mundurucu make these forays every year and that they always bring captives.

A very old Indian woman, probably a native of the interesting Tapajoz tribe which gave the river its name and which is now extinct, told me that more than once during her youth [96] the Mundurucu had come down the banks of the Upper and Lower Tapajoz, striking cruelly at the many malocas then extent, cutting enemy heads, and spreading boundless terror throughout the region.

A well-verified tradition also has it that these barbarians once reached the mouth of the Tapajoz, and besieged the fort built by the Portuguese in the Christian Tapajoz village which is now the site of the flourishing city of Santarém.

X

Facts about some native tribes whom the Mundurucu fight and who wander through the valley of the Upper Xingu and toward the borders of Mato-Grosso.

648 The Mundurucu say that they still find many heathen bands
[323] in the extensive regions they roam, and that towards the east there runs a broad and mighty river, full of waterfalls, which they call Caruntunzi and the banks of which are inhabited by many pagans.

This must be the Upper Xingu, which is indeed one of the major tributaries of the Amazon and one of those which run closest to the capital of Pará. Its upper course, however, is still entirely unknown.

Indians in the River Regions of Tapajôz

101 [385] There are still more tribes in the area between the Tapajôz
726 and Madeira, an area still today almost inaccessible, but of these tribes we have hardly any other information than that they are enemies of the Mundurucu, by whom they are being persecuted to the point of extinction. The same is true of the Jumas, Parentintins, and the Araras who live near the sources of the Rio Mauhe and from there westward. Probably to escape this persecution the Jumas and the Aráras, the latter distinguished by their graceful feather finery, have moved to the parish of S. Antonio de Araretama (Borba) on the eastern bank of the Madeira, 25 legoas above the river mouth. And the Parintintins, described as a very industrious, [386] accomplished tribe live partly in the village of Jatapûon, on the left bank of the river of the same name. Whether this tribe is to be considered identical with the so-called Coroados, "the Shorn," who are also supposed to be living in the Tapajôz is uncertain. Certain is, however, that
● [727] the skulls of their enemies, which the Mundrucûs preserve, show a shorn pate. According to other reports the Parintintins are said to have the inside of their fore arms tattooed at the wrist and to be cannibals. Castelnau [Expédition dans les parties centrales de l'Amérique du Sud] names them among the tribes still at war with the Brasilians (III, 307). *

> *Earlier the following were mentioned [as living] on the Arinos and Juruena: the Apaunuarías, Marixitás, Apicuricûs, Muquirîás, Ereruas. No trace is left of these, but there is a group known as the Anyurias and another called the Apecuarías. Hyspodiaei are sometimes seen among the Indians of the Tapajûz. Revista trimensal 1847. Ser. II Tom. 2, p. 5. 96.

000 All these tribes have little claim to our attention and I shall leave undecided whether those mentioned first (a - h) are fragments of the Apiacas and Mundrucus who are dominant here or whether they have

171 But they
881 do have one curious custom in common with their neighbors the Maues. They expose their daughters to continuous fasting and to the smoke in the gable of the hut when the latter pass from childhood to womanhood.

244 In agriculture the Mundrucus have an advantage over others only
[161] in as much as the power of their numerous and warlike tribe (I heard a figure of 18,000 given and even one of 40,000) makes their plantations more secure; also the rather dense population make dependence on hunting and fishing alone unfeasible. They grow some cotton and a great deal of manioc. The flour ground from manioc is packed in
[439] baskets and the wide leaves of palms, spice stalks [Würzschilfe] and heliconias and regularly sold to the mariners in Tapajoz now that they have established friendly relations. In the area near the Brazilians
361 each family lives by itself in a conical hut. Today these are often not built individually in isolated places throughout the forest but are grouped into villages. Those Indians not yet in a neighborhood of whites occupy large, open huts as a community of several families. But even in the
● [727] mission I found near their houses the preserved heads of slain enemies and numerous skulls of larger game animals stuck up on poles. Everything about the appearance of these savages made it evident that they consider themselves mighty hunters and warriors and that they strive to maintain their hegemony in the area. To this their name has reference.
101 It is from the Tupi language. Mundrucus, Mondorucus means either: "those who plunder together" (from monda "steal," ru "together," cu, co "plantation, property), or: "those who practice (ico) cutting off (mondoc)", that is to say cutting off heads. Moturicus, from motumun moteryc and ico, means: "the shaker, the thief [Mitnchmer]." [391] Very widespread is the nickname Paiquizé, Paia-kyce, that is "Father Knife, Decapitator." Castelnau (III. 106) lists the Arupás as living among the Mundrucus on both banks of the Arinos, and they are probably identical with the Oropias already mentioned (p. 204, 383) who are also found on the Madeira river.

726 Their military organization is begun in peacetime. Every man capable of bearing arms cuts a notch in a stick that is sent around and by this he pledges his participation in war. In wartime the chief has power of life and death over the individual. That they were in a state of war with the Apiacas was not told me. * For their attacks they

* The Picobyé (in Pohl II. 183) or Paicobejé do not belong here but are a tribe belonging to the Macamecrans.

726 distribute themselves in long lines and wait for the enemy to finish shooting his arrows. These arrows, in a display of great skill are caught in flight by the women who are stationed nearby, or the arrows are avoided by quick jumps. Only after this do they shoot their own arrows (which they do with great speed as they are handed them by their women) at a time when the enemy, fighting in closer ranks, has not much ammunition left. They attack only by day; and so they are attacked, by the equally war-like Araras, at night. In their permanent dwellings they protect themselves against this by a thoroughly military arrangement. In time of war all the men of military age sleep in a large, common hut distant from the women and
[534 209] they are guarded by patrols who signal with the toré (beni), a rasping cane trumpet, or with the kiohoa, a whistle. With this instrument the commander, who remains behind the fighting men, during a battle, gives his orders usually by having signals blown by two of his adjutants [392] simultaneously from horns of different lengths. In battle the
●727 Mundrucu gives no quarter. As soon as he has felled his enemy with arrow or javelin he takes him by the hair and cuts through his neck muscles and spine with a short cane knife, doing it so skillfully that the head is quickly severed from the body. A head so taken becomes the subject of the victor's most careful attentions. As soon as he is back with his comrades they kindle a great many fires over which the skull, cleaned of brains, muscle, eyes and tongue, is dried on pegs. Every day the skull is repeatedly washed with water, drenched with oil in which rocou has been dissolved and placed in the sun. When it is dried hard the skull is equipped with an artificial brain of dyed cotton, with eyes of resin and with teeth and decorated with a feather hood. This revolting trophy is carried about by the victor on a string. When he is in the communal hut, it is placed in the sun or in the smoke in the daytime and at night is put up by his hammock like a sentinal. Enemies captured in surprise attacks are not killed but taken into the tribe.

595 A man has several wives according to his power and importance. He puts up his hammock in the section of the communal hut apportioned to him near the hammock of the elder wife who, though not necessarily his favorite, is the mistress of his household and often even brings younger
[578 846] women to him. Jealousy and quarrels are the result of this polygamy which is more thoroughly developed here than in other tribes. Just like the old Tupis and the Caribs the men here lie for several weeks in the

though Martius reports that women participated in the battle to the extent of recovering arrows shot by the enemy and delivering them to their own warriors. He even asserts that the women "cleverly catch the arrows of the enemy in flight" (Spix and Martius, 1823–31, 3: 1,313). The usual method of attack was to assault the enemy village at daybreak and to fire the huts by means of incendiary arrows. During the fight, the war leader stood behind his warriors directing the attack. Assistants signaled his orders on their trumpets. Women and children of the enemy were taken prisoner; the women were later married by *Mundurucú* men, and the children were adopted. But enemy warriors were killed and their heads taken as trophies.

A *Mundurucú* warrior who had fought bravely but because of a wound had failed to obtain a head, received in compensation a cotton belt from which hung teeth removed from enemy heads. Such a belt might also be given to the widow of a warrior killed in battle (pl. 23, *right*), and her possession of it entitled her to be supported by the community. When a warrior had been wounded, his name was not spoken for a year; during this time he was considered to be dead. At the end of the year, a feast was given to reinstate him in the community.

Trophy heads were dried and colored with urucú or genipa; the brain cavity was filled with cotton and a carrying cord was laced through the lips (pl. 23, *left*). *Mundurucú* trophy heads were not shrunken. (Koseritz (1885) and Barbosa Rodrigues (1882 a) were both in error on this point.)

Strömer believes that the *Mundurucú* were cannibalistic, basing his belief on a passage in native text which seems to imply that some part of the trophy head was eaten. Kruse (1934) denies that the *Mundurucú* were in any way cannibalistic; Nimuendajú (personal communication) doubts the credibility of Strömer's informants on this subject.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and naming.—According to Martius, the father keeps to his hammock for several weeks after the birth of a child and there receives the visits and solicitude of his neighbors. Immediately after its birth, the child is given a totemic name. Other names are added as the child grows older. If a man performs a heroic deed in hunting or warfare, his heroism will be commemorated by an additional name. When children reach their 8th year, their tatooing begins, and a boy takes up residence in the men's house.

Puberty and marriage.—Martius (1867) says that a girl at her first menstruation is required to undergo a long period of fasting "while exposed to the smoke in the gable of the hut."

A girl may be betrothed while still quite young to a mature warrior. Though she remains with her parents and the marriage is not consummated

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4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

PLATE 23.—**Mundurucú artifacts.** *Left:* Prepared human head with animal teeth set in eye sockets and a suspension cord hanging from the mouth. (Courtesy Museo Etnográfico de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Buenos Aires.) *Right:* Belt of human teeth, woven by widow of a warrior killed in combat. (Courtesy Museu Paraense Emilio Goeldi, Belém.)

[facing p. 282]

721 the leadership of the party, but the other chiefs were influential, also.

726 The warriors who accepted the invitation then busied themselves in making an enormous number of arrows, bows, and fresh bow strings. The warrior usually was accompanied by his wife or a female relative who carried hammocks and utensils, and with the other accompanying women, prepared food. The warrior carried only his arms and confined himself to hunting and scouting. The party moved slowly as it was necessary to procure subsistence and to scout the territory ahead. When the enemy village was neared, a temporary shelter was made in the forest and the women left there. The men then proceeded under cover of darkness to surround the village. At the first signs of dawn the warriors were already assembled in the forest on the village perimeter and the chief gave the signal to attack. The signal was sounded by two muchacha on their special war trumpets. Arrows, the points of which had been coated with resin, were ignited and launched into the roofs of the houses, and the warriors charged into the village making as much noise as possible to confuse and terrify the inhabitants. As the latter ran from their houses and attempted to escape they were seized by the Mundurucú.

727 Men and women were slain and decapitated while the children were taken captive. Loot was confined to a small amount of arms and ornaments that had more trophy value than anything else. Surprise was the major element in the attack and the Mundurucú always retired before the enemy had the opportunity to regroup and inflict losses on them. They retreated rapidly

727 to their temporary shelters to pick up the women and their belongings and proceeded on a forced march until safety was reached, usually after a large river had been put between them and the enemy. If any of their own number was killed or too seriously wounded to keep up with the party, the member of the opposite moiety who had the privilege of burying him stopped long enough to cut off the upper arm of the fallen one, even if he was still alive. Needless to say, death came quickly to the wounded subjected to this operation. The arm bones were brought back to the village flayed of their flesh and after a suitable mourning period were buried.

The trophy heads were prepared <u>en route</u>. The retreating party stopped long enough to preserve the head by cleaning out the brains, boiling it slightly, and drying it near a fire. This process was repeated about three or four times. The head was not shrunken.

The return of the war party to their villages was an occasion of great rejoicing for those who remained behind, but one of sadness for the close relatives of the fallen. The warriors announced their return by blasts on [534] a type of trumpet called the <u>uhua</u> and were met by the older boys of the village. The captive children were turned over to the boys to be guarded and the warriors triumphantly entered the village. The children were adopted by their captors, tattooed, and eventually became Mundurucú warriors and wives, themselves. According to informants, those people taken as captives were given full status within the tribe

727 and were so successfully incorporated that there were never any cases of defection, even in wars upon their native villages.

554 784 727 The greatest honor went to the men who had taken heads. They were referred to as dajeboishi, or, literally translated, "mother of the game." Such was their distinction that they were usually addressed by the short form title ajeboi. Proscriptions were relatively rare in Mundurucú culture, but a very elaborate series of taboos was observed by the trophy head owner and his wife. For a period of three years after his return he was not allowed intercourse with his wife, and he was not even supposed to look at other women. He spoke to the men only when necessary and avoided familiar contact with them. He didn ot hunt, but went into the forest at a distance from the hunting party and after the first kill retired to the village. His presence brought the [789] magical charm of the head into the forest and made the animals fall an easy prey to the arrows of the hunters. The Mundurucú still say that in the days when the men's house had enemy heads in it there was a lot more food in the village.

During this period, certain taboos were observed by the wife of the trophy head owner. She did no household work, and she could not bathe in the stream. In general, she held herself aloof from the other women. She was aided 554 at all times by a woman of the other moiety who acted as a 727 servant to her. During three successive winters, the trophy

554 727 head owner was responsible for holding ceremonies centering around the enemy heads. These ceremonies were participated in by people from many villages. After a successful expedition, a number of villages might hold these ceremonies, thus involving a great deal of intervillage visiting. Game, beiju, and non-alcoholic vegetable and fruit drinks were amassed to feed the visitors. In the first ceremony of the cycle the trophy head was decorated by stringing cords through the mouth and out of the nostrils via a hole in the roof of the mouth, attaching brightly colored feathers to the ears, and affixing paca teeth over the eye sockets. On the second occasion, the skin was taken from the skull and it was hung in a corner of the men's house, and on the third and last, the teeth of the trophy head, which had been removed immediately after the attack, were strung on a belt of woven cotton. A great dance was then held by the Da- shi'anyen (literally, "mothers of the arrow"), a singing society to which most of the Mundurucú males belonged. After this ceremony, the trophy head owner and his wife resumed their normal lives.

554 The highest honor achievable for a Mundurucú man was to become a muchacha, or one of the society of learned and distinguished warriors. All members of this society had at one time taken a head and all were founts of Mundurucú learning, especially of the all-important songs. The greatest chiefs and war leaders were members and such membership did much to enhance the chief's prestige. Below the status of the muchacha was that of the trophy head owner (dajeboishi).

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

served to strengthen tribal integration, and at the same time were made possible by it. When a foray was proposed, couriers were sent to several villages to recruit volunteers. The expedition was led by two village chiefs who were reputed as warriors. The force generally set out at the end of one rainy season and returned before the onset of the next. However, some war parties ranged as far as 500 miles from the Mundurucú country and might pass the next rainy season and the following dry season on the war path.

Due to the long periods spent campaigning, intervillage participation in war presented many concrete advantages. By drawing fighting men from several communities, a large force could be put in the field, while taking away only a minority of the men of any one village. More than enough people remained to protect and feed the young and old, and the integrity of Mundurucú territory was maintained. Also, the horticultural cycle was not allowed to lapse, and gardens remained in production to satisfy the demands of subsistence and trade. The hypothesis that warfare is conducive to patrilocal residence (Murdock 1949:207) is not borne out by the Mundurucú.

After the return of a successful war party, the men fortunate enough to have secured trophy heads were responsible for the sponsorship of a ceremony to which people from all Mundurucú villages came and in which they actively participated. However, the trophy head ceremony was secondary to the most important Mundurucú religious festival, the Ceremony of the Game. This rite was held every year, but its locale shifted annually from one host village to another. Participation was on a tribal level, and the ceremony benefited the Mundurucú as a whole.

The most important factor in the multi-community integration of the Mundurucú is the fact that, with patrilineality and permanent matrilocality, place of residence and lineal kinship did not coincide, but cross-cut each other. This will be better understood when the structure of the village is analyzed, but it can be easily seen that the men of any one village will be bound to people of other villages by bonds of family and clan. The result is that the locus of kinship institutions was primarily the tribe, and secondarily the village. The village was integrated mainly by co-residence and economic interdependence. The tribe was integrated principally by kinship. Eggan (1937:84) predicts just such a structure when speculating upon the possibility of matrilocality in Gros Ventre society:

> "The Gros Ventre had patrilineal clans which were exogamous, but unfortunately we do not know whether they were localized. There is some evidence that the household unit of the Gros Ventre was based on matrilocal residence; if this were so, the patrilineal clans must have been nonlocalized segments. Such an organization would tend to increase the tribal integration by uniting the various local groups more firmly, since the scattered clansmen could maintain their relationships more easily."

UNILINEAL INSTITUTIONS

Descent among the Mundurucú was patrilineal in nearly all respects. Clan membership, chieftainship, shamanistic power, and given names were inherited through the father. Property was not inherited for the simple reason

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the equipment of the men, except for their arms, thus leaving the males unencumbered for hunting and fighting. They also cooked, fetched water and firewood and performed other female services. Contrary to Spix and von Martius' (1831:1313) assertion that the women helped on the battlefield, informants said that the women were always left at a safe distance from the scene of combat. The men then proceeded to encircle the enemy village under cover of darkness.

No warfare rituals were held prior to the departure of the expedition, but the most powerful shaman available always accompanied the war party and throughout the course of march was able to ascertain events in the enemy village by sending one of his instruments abroad to spy upon the foe. Once the village had been encircled, the shaman blew ant-eater hair or macaw feathers in the direction of the houses in order to put the enemy into a deep sleep. Eagle feathers were similarly directed at the village in the belief that this would cause the defenders to become confused and impotent in the face of attack.

When the occupants of the village were benumbed, the warriors waited for the cry of a species of bird that breaks into song at dawn. When this signal was heard, the chiefs sounded blasts on their horns and cried the order to attack. Incendiary arrows, made by affixing dried corn-cobs to the end of the arrow shaft, were ignited and loosed at the thatch roofs of the houses. The Mundurucú then broke from cover and dashed into the clearing of the enemy village, emitting wild shouts calculated to terrify the people. Adult males and females were killed and decapitated, and prepubescent children of both sexes were captured by the attackers. The Mundurucú then beat a hasty retreat before the enemy could reorganize his forces and summon additional support.

The retiring Mundurucú force drove its captive children ahead hurriedly and stopped at the temporary shelter only long enough to pick up the women and supplies. They then made a day and night forced march until they had reached a safe distance from the enemy. At this point, the expedition turned toward home or, frequently, to new fields of conquest.

A central object of the raid was the taking of enemy heads, and a strict protocol was observed in the preparation of the trophies. After killing an enemy man or woman, the warrior quickly decapitated the corpse. The spine was severed at the foramen magnum, but the skin was cut around the chest, shoulders, and back to leave a substantial flap below the point of severance. The excess skin compensated for the inevitable shrinkage that accompanied desiccation. A piece of wood was then thrust into the mouth of the trophy to prevent its locking closed in rigor mortis. During the return march the head was preserved by removing the brains, boiling it, and then drying it near a bonfire.

The war party broke up after reaching Mundurucú country, and the participants proceeded to their respective villages. Signals were sounded on horns a short distance outside the villages, and two messengers were sent to inform the people of the results of the raid. The boys of the community went to meet the waiting warriors and received the trophy heads from them. They ran

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

727 ahead to the men's house and displayed the prizes to the older men and told them who had taken each. The warriors and their accompanying women then entered the village, and each delivered his captive children to the care of his wife and went to the men's house, where the trophy heads were returned to their owners.

727 765 [616] Although the waiting members of the community showed joy at the return of the war party, especially if it had been successful, mourning was in order for those who had fallen in the fray. Among the Mundurucú, each clan recognizes certain other clans of the opposite moiety as their *iboiwatitit*, or people who have the responsibility of burying the dead of the clan. This function is looked upon as more than a duty; moieties are conceived as ritually hostile bodies, and the iboiwatitit consider it a pleasure to bury the dead of the complementary clan. When the whole body is not available, it is considered necessary to the maintenance of proper relations between moieties that some part of the dead be buried. Since it was not expedient to bring the dead back to Mundurucú territory for interment, it was customary for a member of a slain warrior's iboiwatitit to sever his humerus and return it for the mortuary rites. This practice was said to have been followed also in the cases of men who were too severely wounded to continue the homeward journey; needless to say, they died shortly thereafter. When it was impossible to retrieve the humerus of the dead, a piece of arrow cane was cut to simulate the bone.

The iboiwatitit member who had brought the arm bone of the dead back to the village would place it in a basket in his wife's dwelling and keep it there for about a month. People from other villages were invited to attend the [578] burial, and on this occasion other members of the deceased's iboiwatitit engaged in ritual dispute for the honor of burying the bone. The humerus was always retained by the man who had secured it, and it was buried in the floor of his house.

727 554 784 Thus far we have discussed the roles of war leaders, the Muchacha society, the shaman, and the iboiwatitit of the fallen warrior, but other social statuses connected with warfare became activated after the return of the expedition. A wounded warrior was treated as if dead for one year after the hostilities; he had no sexual relations, his hair was allowed to grow long, and the use of his name was tabooed during that period.

727 554 [609] [825] The most important status was that of a taker of a trophy head, who was referred to as *Dajeboiši*. Literally, the title means "mother of the peccary," an allusion to the Mundurucú view of other tribes as being equivalent to game animals. The "mother" part of the term is derived from the trophy head's power to attract game and to cause their numerical increase, and the headhunter was so titled because of his obvious fertility promoting function; paradoxically for such a seemingly masculine status, he symbolically filled a female role.

727 224 The trophy head was believed to exert a powerful charm over the spirit protectors of the animal world and thus improved the supply and availability of game. Each time that the men of the village went hunting, the Dajeboiši

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

took his trophy a short distance into the forest, where its magical effect was exercised. But the supernatural power of the head could only be maintained when certain precautions were observed. Both the taker of the head and his wife were prohibited from sexual intercourse and were supposed to avoid looking upon any person who had recently indulged in the act. Accordingly, they lived very restrained and sequestered lives; the Dajeboiši spent most of his time lying in his hammock, and his wife was assigned special assistants to perform her household and garden chores.

The Dajeboiši was also responsible for sponsoring a series of ceremonies that took place during three successive rainy seasons following the return of the expedition. During the first, which took place shortly after the return of the war party, feather pendants were attached to the ears of the trophy head; certain clans had the prerogative of affixing the feathers of particular species of birds. Also, the eye sockets were sealed with beeswax and two paca teeth were placed across each eye. During the second phase of the ceremony, the ornaments and skin were stripped from the skull and it was retired to a corner of the men's house. The third part of the ceremony was devoted to stringing the enemy's teeth on a woven cotton belt. This ornament served as a permanent trophy of the slain enemy, and the skull was left to deteriorate in the men's house.

The final phase of the ceremony involved the greatest degree of intervillage participation, for it served as a ceremonial reunion of the *Darekši* or "mothers of the arrow." The Darekši was a society devoted to the celebration of Mundurucú arms, and included all adult males. At this time, a great feast was held, martial songs were sung, and the young boys were given instruction in the songs of the Darekši. At the conclusion of the celebration, the ceremonial cycle terminated and the Dajeboiši and his wife resumed their normal life.[3]

No special honor was accorded the warrior who captured children. They were turned over to his wife to rear as her own. Having been incorporated into the kinship system through adoption, the children were accorded the treatment appropriate to their relationship status. In time, they married members of the opposite moiety and lived through a normal Mundurucú life cycle. Contemporary informants affirm that captives were in no way treated as inferiors, although their origins were certainly remembered. Young men were said to have taken part in Mundurucú war parties, even in attacks against their native group. No cases of defection were reported.

GOALS OF WARFARE

George Fathauer (1954:110) maintains in a recent article that the Mohave "conception of war was largely non-instrumental: it was an end in itself." The Mundurucú looked upon warfare in much the same way; war was considered an essential and unquestioned part of their way of life, and foreign tribes were attacked because they were enemies by definition. This basic orientation emerged clearly from interviews with informants. Unless direct, specific questions were asked, the Mundurucú never assigned specific causes to particular

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the whites with some pride, but viewed their efforts as civilizing missions against the "savage Indians," or "Indians of the forest." Their attitude was clearly that they did what had to be done and had always been done; the remuneration was secondary.

It is impossible to determine what proportion of Mundurucú warfare in the last century was instigated by the whites, but it is clear that many, and probably most, raids were conducted against groups having no enmity or even contact with Brazilian society. It is evident that the Mundurucú did not remain warlike solely for reasons of material gain, but mercenary service did serve to encourage the perpetuation of a deeply rooted pattern. Whether or not economic and ecological conditions stimulated warfare in the preceding century is difficult to ascertain. It is known that the area of Mundurucú occupation expanded northward in the late 18th and early 19th centuries into regions formerly inhabited by other groups. While the Mundurucú moved into a vacuum that they had helped to create, it is almost certain that assimilation and depopulation due to disease had decimated the ranks of the previous occupants far more than had Mundurucú arms, and the population of the latter was already on the wane. Additional territory was hardly the goal of the migrant Mundurucú; the lure of manufactured articles available through trade with the white settlements offers a more adequate explanation of their northward drift to the lower Madeira and Tapajós Rivers.

The secondary nature of economic goals in Mundurucú warfare is even more manifest when looting is considered. No objects of significant economic value were taken, and the raiders maintained their mobility by traveling light. Captive children were a far more important class of booty than were material items. Captive-taking was a means of strengthening the group through the addition of new members, but it is not certain whether the increment compensated for the loss of mature warriors and their female followers. If, however, one accepts intense warfare as a given factor, the capture of children was important to its successful continuance. Moreover, the Mundurucú valued and desired children, and the captives were treated as the captor's own.

The Mundurucú warrior was strongly motivated by the desire to achieve prestige through the demonstration of valor, especially as signified by the taking of a trophy head. The Dajeboili was subjected to very onerous restrictions, but he was rewarded by the lifetime respect of his fellowmen. However, if he was to maintain his position and advance to the high status of a Muchacha, it was expected that he would also become a font of traditional lore and songs. Prestige was not openly asserted among the Mundurucú, and the tone of the society was strongly egalitarian. Decision-making was decentralized and informal and joint activity depended upon the consensus of the participants, but the successful headhunter exerted considerable influence in the attainment of such consensus—albeit through subdued means.

Despite the fact that individual wars were undertaken because of the desire of the participants to gain prestige, it would be most dubious to admit this as a fundamental cause of warfare. It seems almost a truism to say that

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the individual who demonstrates proficiency in the attainment of a socially desirable goal will himself be valued and that this will motivate him to appropriate action, but this still does not answer the question of why the goal and the accompanying activity is valued. Newcomb (1950:329) has stated the same case with cogency in regard to Plains warfare.

The trophy head was prized as a symbol of Mundurucú prowess and of its owner's status, but it was also sought because it was the center of a number of magico-religious observances. The trophy was thought to be pleasing to the spirit protectors of the game animals because it had inherent power, contingent upon the proper observance of connected ritual acts. The possession of a trophy head thus resulted in greater economic abundance, and in this sense it served the same general purpose as does the Jivaro *tsantsa*. However, this aspect of the trophy quest does not cast much light upon Mundurucú headhunting, for alternate ways of pleasing the spirits were known and practiced. The ceremonial and shamanistic techniques of propitiating the spirit protectors of game animals were complex both in practice and in ideational content. In contrast, the linkage of the trophy head and the spirits was vague and ephemeral; it is probable that headhunting developed subsequent to the rites connected with the animal spirits and had become only loosely integrated with them. It is to be expected that any important social activity will become value and belief cathected in this manner, but it would be erroneous to proceed to explain the activity by its supporting ideology.

Finally, it should be considered that the Mundurucú looked upon fighting as a source of sport and excitement. The enemy was looked upon as game to be hunted, and the Mundurucú still speak of the pariwat in the same terms that they reserve for peccary and tapir. War was a relief from boredom, but it is not surprising that peace would be boring to people who consider themselves warriors. One might ask why they did not relieve boredom in log racing as do some groups, or in drinking bouts as did many of their neighbors. In short, can we not look upon activity and play drives as being inherent within the species and proceed from that vantage to explain the particular way they are manifested in particular cultures?

FUNCTIONS OF MUNDURUCÚ WARFARE

The manifest goals of warfare provide us with an understanding of the incentives that motivated the Mundurucú warrior. The religious and sportive aspects of warfare were found to be considerably more ephemeral than were the economic and prestige goals involved, but even the latter two depended upon the existence of a social organization that allowed and encouraged intensive military activity by its very nature. Moreover, the most important single motivation to hostility was a generalized aggressiveness that recognized no specific aims, and this factor yields the most important single clue to an understanding of Mundurucú warfare. If specific goals do not fully explain the extent and intensity of the pattern, and if the pressure of external circumstances did not force battle, then the main dynamics of warfare must be sought

more, children were captured from other tribes and raised as Mundurucú without prejudice. To adult "outlanders" of either sex, however, the Mundurucú gave no quarter; the enemy was summarily dispatched and the head severed and taken as a trophy.

The taking of the trophy head was not an end in itself, although it did serve to bring glory to the successful warrior. The enemy head became the subject of a series of ceremonies and ritualistic observances which had as their object the furtherance of the material well-being of all the "people." Beyond this, the Mundurucú derived great pride from their collective strength, and, even today, the older men speak of their warrior days with animation and no little nostalgia.

The establishment of peaceful and symbiotic relations with the whites added a further dimension to the values connected with warfare, which the Mundurucú now pursued as paid allies of the Brazilians. Identification with the cause of the whites and attraction to the material delights of Western culture gave the Mundurucú a "civilizing" mission. They fought only against the "outlanders of the forest," the "savage" Indians, and they construed their role to be one of forceful pacification of these recalcitrants. This added goal provided a rationale for the acceptance of the white man and his culture and served to smooth relations between the two groups during the acculturative process. The means used to attain the new ends were traditional. Enemy villages were

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

part of its trip, the soul travels with the costá monkey. This animal traverses one section of its passage by bending an assaí palm over, grabbing its branches, and then letting it fling him into the foliage of another tree as it springs back. If the soul is not careful, it falls to the ground, killing its sick owner. The only dangerous part of the journeys with various species of fish, except for the invariably fatal end of the trip, is with the black piranha, which tries to eat the soul. 774

The concept of soul loss, like the belief in spirit mothers of game animals with which it is associated, is widespread among both Indian and rural Brazilian inhabitants of the Amazon region. Especially interesting because of its similarity to the Mundurucú belief is Wagley's report that the Brazilian population of the community of Ita believes that the mãe de bicho punishes humans by stealing their "shadows."[29]

Although the departure of the soul from a living body is generally an occasion of great danger, there are some circumstances under which it is considered desirable and beneficial. The souls of shamans frequently travel abroad and are able to visit the underworlds of the *kakeriwat* and the afterworlds of the Mundurucú. Shamans visit the afterworld of the game, (where they serve as shamans to the animals), and that of the trumpets, but they do not visit the Land of the *Purupuri*. The wounded warrior was believed to acquire temporary shamanistic powers during the period of his incapacity, and his soul wandered abroad while he lay in his hammock and dreamed of its experiences. These travels were considered desirable, and care was taken to remove the penis sheath of the warrior to allow him to dream. The Mundurucú were unable to explain why the penis sheath inhibited dreams and the wandering of the soul. 774 756 774 727

The souls of sleeping people sometimes travel harmlessly abroad, and dreams are believed to be the experiences of the soul while away from the body. Dreams are not considered visions or prognostications of future events, but they are thought to be good or bad omens. Thus, if a man dreams of some frightening experience, he will not leave the village for a few days for fear of some unknown danger. 787 774

Certain people are able to derive knowledge from their dreams. These people, known as *chexeretabitchanyen* (those who know how to explain dreams), derive their power through medication administered to them as children. The souls of Mundurucú of times long past appear to them in dreams and teach them certain songs that are sung during ceremonies. Significantly, the songs taught to dreamers are not new or forgotten ones, but songs that are quite actively present in Mundurucú culture and known by other dreamers. 787

All animals have souls, which return to the afterworld of the game and become transformed into people upon the death of the animal. Fish are also thought to have souls, but they are accorded little importance in Mundurucú thought. Although individual fish and animals have souls, only species of domesticated plants have souls. Dogs, too, are thought to have souls, but the canine soul returns to the Land of the Dogs upon the death of its body. Also, dogs are not considered to be 774 825

[29] Wagley, 1952, p. 235.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

dancers clothed in cloaks of buriti leaf, who danced from house to house, playing in each. Another connected trait reflected intermoiety ritual antagonism. When hunters of the White moiety killed a red deer, they mocked the Red moiety by piercing the animal's lip and inserting a woman's lip plug. The ears were also pierced and plugs inserted, and the deer was carried triumphantly to the men's house where the hunters danced before cooking the meat.

Tattooing was the only life cycle observance practiced in recent years by the Mundurucú. Although now rapidly disappearing, tattooing was started at the age of about six or seven and terminated some ten years later. Complete tattooing signalized full manhood for the boys and womanhood for the females and constituted initiation as an adult member of the society. If the chronology reported by my informant is correct, the *Duparip* may well have functioned partly to incorporate the young boys into the male world before they were subjected to the long and painful process of tattooing. Their new status as novitiate males would thus be signified by the custom of pecking the women at the end of the ceremony, the first time in which they played a symbolically male role in interaction with the women as a group.

Warfare Ceremonies

Summer, the dry season, was traditionally the time for warfare among the Mundurucú. War parties usually stayed in the field throughout the dry season and returned before the winter rains made rivers impassable and life uncomfortable. Occasionally an expedition pursued its activities throughout the rainy season and the following dry season, but it always returned before the rains forced it to spend a second winter abroad.

Those Mundurucú who stayed at home generally passed at least part of the dry season away from their villages, moving to the river banks where they fished and hunted. The first rains of September and October brought them back to their villages where they reunited with the returning warriors to take up the threads of mundane village life and, also, to stage the most important rituals of the Mundurucú ceremonial cycle.

The villages of successful head-hunters were the locales of a series of ceremonies that involved ritual observances during three successive rainy seasons after the return of the war party.* No ceremonies were held before going on the warpath, and the war ceremonies of the Mundurucú were part of the religious beliefs and activities surrounding the supernatural potency of the trophy head and of its owner rather than rituals to assure a successful raid.

The return of a war party was an occasion of joy and festivity in the Mundurucú villages, but the holiday atmosphere was often dampened by the saddening news of the death of a kinsman during a foray or while on the march. The bodies of the fallen warriors could not conveniently be brought back to their communities, but it was nevertheless considered necessary that certain clans of the comple-

* Some informants claimed that the ceremonial cycle was carried out during one rainy season, but the majority opinion and most reliable view were as above.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

727 616 766 mentary moiety have the privilege (or pleasure, as some informants phrased it) of burying the dead of the other moiety, if only symbolically. For this purpose, the humerus of the dead Mundurucú was cut off and the flesh stripped from the bone after the arm was boiled and allowed to dry in the sun. Indicative of the symbolic importance attached to the moieties' prerogative of burying each other's dead was the practice of amputating the humerus of a wounded but still living warrior who was unable to continue the return journey. Furthermore, when the body was lost or a vengeance party was in hot pursuit and such Draconian measures were impossible, a symbolic arm bone was made out of a short piece of arrow cane and duly mourned, treasured, and buried.

727 766 The grisly operation of taking the humerus of the fallen warrior was performed by a member of the latter's *iboiwatitit*, or those clans of the opposite moiety that held the special burial right over the deceased's clan. This man brought the bone back to his village and guarded it carefully, sleeping with it in his arms "as if it were a baby." After an unspecified period, the man's mourners and many members of his *iboiwatitit* gathered to bury the bone in the floor of its custodian's house.

765 [302] Both male and female kinsmen of the slain warrior were expected to weep loudly upon hearing news of his death. The patterned wailing of the men was of short duration, but that of the women was expected to last for several months. Also, women, as in the event of the death of any relative, had their hair cropped close to the scalp and were prohibited from wearing any body ornamentation. The latter restriction applied also to men, but their hair was not cut. The cutting of the woman's hair was always done by a male member of her *iboiwatitit*.

727 796 The actual cycle of trophy-head ceremonies began shortly after the return of the war party with an observance known as *Inyenborotaptam*, or Decorating the Ears. This ceremony and those celebrated in the two succeeding rainy seasons were held under the leadership of the taker (or takers) of the trophy head, who was thereafter honored by the title of *Dajeboiši*, or Mother of the Peccary. Food was amassed by the host village under his direction, and invitations were issued to other villages. The purpose of this phase of the trophy-head ceremony was to decorate the head. Implicitly, its function was to inaugurate the head and its owner into the status that both would occupy until the conclusion of the cycle.

The preparation of the trophy head began during the return march from the enemy village. First the brains were extracted with the wide bamboo point of a war arrow, which was inserted into the head through the foramen magnum. The teeth were then knocked out and carefully stored away, and the head was lightly boiled and dried near the fire. This process made the skin dry and parchment-like and effectively preserved it. Finally a woven cord was inserted in the mouth and led out through the nostril by a hole pierced in the hard palate, leaving the tasseled ends of the cord dangling from the mouth and nostril. At a later time, the eye sockets were sealed with beeswax and two paca teeth affixed across either eye.

The Mundurucú considered the crowning glory of a trophy head to be the

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

feather pendants that were suspended from either ear, the attachment of which was the central purpose of the *Inyenborotaptam*. Feathers from five species of birds were used in the ornamentation, and each type of feather could be attached only by the *Kiriši*, *Akai*, *Chunyún*, and *Parawá* clans, and those of the mutúm by the *Witúm* clan. The *Karú* clan and subclan, the *Sau* subclan, and the *Warú* clan and subclan used the feathers of the red macaw; the *Kabá* clan attached parrot feathers; and the *Borón* clan contributed those of the gavião tawató. Those clans sharing the same feathers were always linked within the same phratry, and the appropriate bird species was usually an eponymous clan spirit of at least one of the groups.

The feather pendants could be no longer than the hair on the trophy head. For this reason, long-haired victims were especially prized and a woman's head was highly valued, although it was thought more valorous to kill an enemy warrior.

The sponsorship of these ceremonies was not the only duty of the taker of the trophy head. The social and religious role of the *Dajeboiši* had certain nonceremonial aspects that were, nonetheless, part of the larger ritual complex of warfare and head-hunting. Upon his return to the home village, the successful warrior assumed an enhanced status that endowed his person with an almost sacred aura and isolated him from normal relations with his fellow Mundurucú. Sexuality was considered especially dangerous both to the *Dajeboiši* and to his wife. They were enjoined against indulging in sexual intercourse with each other or with anyone else throughout the ceremonial period. The *Dajeboiši* could lose his power and fall into the previously discussed state of bad luck merely by looking at a *yapõ*, or wanton woman, and for this reason he always bathed very early to avoid meeting one on the path to the stream. Moreover, he was expected to have minimal contact with or sight of women other than his wife. Even she posed a threat to his special status, and they ate sitting back to back.

The *Dajeboiši* was expected to maintain a decorous and restrained attitude at all times. He spent much of his time lying in his hammock and gazing upward to avoid the contaminating sight of men who had recently had coitus. He could talk to the other men, but only on serious topics; trivial conversation and joking were considered inappropriate to his sacrosanct position. Although he slept in the men's house, the *Dajeboiši* did not partake of the communal meals there and ate only with his wife. But he was expected to be generous toward the other men and to keep tobacco under his hammock at all times for their use.

In addition to his ceremonial role, the *Dajeboiši* had an important function in the religious aspect of the hunting economy. His person and the trophy were thought pleasing to the Mother of the Game, and he brought the head into the forest whenever a hunting party embarked. The *Dajeboiši* did not, however, hunt nor did he accompany the other men. His mere proximity was sufficient to insure a good kill, and after two animals were slain he returned to the village. It was believed that if he were to remain longer in the forest he might step in the blood of a game animal and thereby lose the charm of the head.

The wife of the *Dajeboiši* occupied a delicate status also. Like her husband, she

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

had to exercise great care in her relations with others lest she look at a person who had recently had sexual relations. On days when hunting parties left for the forest she was supposed to remain in her hammock until late in the morning, for if she arose and moved about the game would run away. She was not allowed to bathe in the stream with the other women but washed her body from vessels of water brought to her house. Nor was the wife of the *Dajeboiši* supposed to work; a young woman from her *iboiwatitit* was chosen to draw water and wood for her and to perform household chores. Considerable authority over the other women was exercised by the *Dajeboiši*'s wife, and she felt free to send the women of the village to work in the garden or perform whatever services she desired.

The *Dajeboiši* and his wife were, according to some informants, obliged to maintain this regimen during the more than two years between the return of the war party and the final phase of the ceremonial cycle. Others thought that the prohibitions were not continually in force during this long period, but agreed that some restrictions were observed until the conclusion of the final ritual.

With the advent of the second rainy season after the taking of the trophy head, the *Dajeboiši* again issued invitations to the people of other villages, and all reunited for feasting. This phase of the ceremony is known as *Yašegon*, or Stripping the Skin from the Head. As the name indicates, the trophy head was skinned, its ornaments were removed, and the bare skull was then hung in a corner of the men's house.

Before the head was boiled and skinned, it was thrown on the ground and a group of men called "Vultures" batted it back and forth with sticks in imitation of the vulture's practice of tossing strips of carrion with its beak. The Vultures included all the bald men of the village and certain others who were thought to be really bald, although ordinary vision showed them to have hair on their heads. Previous to these proceedings, a number of old men, all of whom had at one time taken an enemy head, took the trophy head and tapped its top. If powder or any other matter fell from it, they announced that the *Dajeboiši* had broken an obligation. This was generally interpreted by all to mean that he had had sexual relations. In such a case his status terminated and no further observances were held, since the head had lost its power. If the test proved the owner of the head had kept his faith, the ceremony could continue.

The rites held during the first two rainy seasons were simple, and activities included only the decoration of the head during the first rainy season, its skinning during the second, and feasting on both occasions. The third winter, however, was the climax of the cycle, and festivities were lengthier and much more elaborate. The final phase of the ceremony was called *Taimetorõm*, or Hanging the Teeth, for on this occasion the teeth extracted from the trophy head were strung on a woven cotton belt. These belts were not worn, but were carefully guarded in a basket kept in the warrior's house.

But the most important ritual of the third rainy season was the all-night songfest of the *Darekši*, or Mothers of the Bow. The *Darekši* was a men's society; it was by no means exclusive in membership for all adult Mundurucú males belonged to

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

it, and it served as a general organization for persons of warrior status. The *Dajeboiši* was the leader and organizer of these festivities also and he customarily sent two messengers to the chiefs of the other Mundurucú villages to issue the following invitation: "Come, eat the hide of the game of the *Dajeboiši*. Come, drink *werú* and *möri*. It is only a mouthful, but come." The chiefs then called their people together and announced, "They want us to come and eat and drink. Everyone who wishes may go." The invited villagers, who had long known of the impending ceremony and were expecting the invitation, cut their hair and ornamented themselves in the traditional Mundurucú style and set out the next day. Food had been amassed by the people of the host village and all settled down to feasting and completing their body painting.

On the day after their arrival, a member of the *Muchacha*[4] society, an exclusive group composed of old and valiant *Dajeboiši* who had mastered great knowledge of lore and songs, sounded the *pem*, a musical instrument used only by them. At this signal all the young boys, who had previously been tonsured and painted, fled into the forest and underbrush to hide from the men. The men then spread throughout the environs of the village and each captured a previously selected boy of the other moiety. The captor decorated the boy with necklaces and belts of glass beads (i.e., during the nineteenth century) and monkeys' teeth. By the time all had been assembled, dusk had already fallen, and the *Darekši* society returned to the village in a single file with the boys in the lead. All the men marched with bows and arrows set in release position. The women remained in the dwelling houses, for it was believed that any who saw the *Darekši* enter the village would be killed during the next war.

After entering the village, the men went to the house of the *Dajeboiši*, where they were served food and drink. A number of small ceramic vessels were laid out in a line and filled with various types of meat in a sauce made from the Brazil nut. Behind each bowl of meat was another filled with a drink prepared from sweet manioc. The line of men passed single file down the row of bowls, each man squatting on his haunches and taking one piece of meat with beijú (a flat manioc flour cake) and a sip of the sweet manioc drink. Then, still squatting, he moved to the right and took another piece of meat and beijú and another sip of the drink. When he reached the end of the line he returned to the beginning; the process was continued until all the food was eaten.

Certain precautions were taken with the drinks because of the sacred nature of the occasion. The Vultures had to eat apart from the other *Darekši*, for if one of the latter were to drink from the same vessel he would turn into a vulture when he died. Also, the sweet manioc drink could be made only by young girls and old women to avoid the threat of contamination of the drink by a drop of menstrual blood or semen from the vagina of a mature woman. The men were prohibited from sexual intercourse immediately before the ceremony for they too could contaminate the beverage and cause others who drank from the vessel to fall victims of the yellowing sickness, or *ujewaii*. To prevent this a shaman examined the

[4] The identity of this term with the Spanish word for 'girl' is an interesting but entirely independent parallel.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

796 contents of each bowl to ascertain whether a ritually impure person had defiled
●727 the food.

After partaking of the ceremonial feast, the men went to the men's house, across the front of which they lined up in a single row with the boys behind. They sang songs celebrating warfare and their arms until dawn, at which time the ceremony ended and the guests returned to their villages. At the conclusion of the
[554] rite, the *Dajeboiši* resumed his normal life. His person and the trophy head no longer exercised their power, but he retained the title and distinction for life.

This account suggests some of the functions of the ritual complex in relation to the practice of warfare and to the social structure, in general. First, the high status accorded the *Dajeboiši* acted to give personal incentive to individual warriors and thus contributed to more effective military action. The taker of the trophy head was further motivated, for the power possessed by him and the head increased the yield of the hunt. The concept of this magical influence also provided an additional group motivation and rationale for warfare and served to root it more firmly in Mundurucú beliefs. The emphasis on warfare was further heightened through the celebration of Mundurucú prowess by the *Darekši;* and this phase of the ritual provided a means of indoctrinating the young into the militarism in which they would one day take part.

The ritual complex was also related to aspects of Mundurucú culture other than warfare. The burial of the humerus of the warrior slain in battle was the most important occasion for the expression of intermoiety ritual hostility. And the attachment of feather pendants to the ears of the trophy head was one of the few remaining corporate functions of the fragmented clans. Finally, and this is true of all the important intervillage ceremonies, the warfare rites served to integrate the populations of the several Mundurucú villages and to maintain bonds of association among scattered fellow clansmen.

Ceremonies of the Game

796 Two ceremonies, the *Araiarai* and the *Dajearuparip*, were held in honor of the
224 spirit mothers of the game. The several Mundurucú villages took turns as hosts in these intervillage rites, and one of the two ceremonies was held during most years. The purpose of the two rites was identical, and they differed only in length and in minor formal details. The following description of the *Dajearuparip* is also valid for the *Araiarai*, except where noted.

A ceremony was usually held at the instigation of one of the older and more respected men of the village—not necessarily the chief—who then became its *piwat*, or leader and organizer. But it was essential for the leader to have the consent of his fellow villagers, for they had to join him in amassing food and drink for the visitors.

796 As in all Mundurucú ceremonies, the arrival of the guests signaled the begin-
224 ning of feasting and preparation of ceremonial regalia. The actual ceremony
292 began with the playing of flutes by a group of cloaked dancers who danced from house to house, performing in each. The cloaks were made of the long fronds of the

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

161 of the extent of the population from the German explorer Karl F. P. von Martius's figure of 18,000 to 40,000 Mundurucú in 1819 and from the Brazilian traveler Antonio Tocantini's calculation of 18,910 in 1875. Henri Coudreau, a French explorer, reported the Mundurucú population of the upper Tapajós River to be 1,429 in 1895; this estimate is undoubtedly more realistic than the previous two, but it is probably too low, for it is unlikely that the Mundurucú should have lost only 200 of their number in the past half-century. My own calculation of the number of Mundurucú in the upper Tapajós area in the mid-nineteenth century is approximately 5,000. This figure is based on the number of villages at that time—about 25—and their probable average populations—about 200 each; it is admittedly a guess.

648 [181] The Mundurucú enjoy a solid position of importance in the history of the Amazon Valley. Now friendly and docile rubber collectors and horticulturists, they were once the most warlike tribe of the region. A series of attacks on Portuguese settlements on the Amazon brought retaliation by the colonial troops in 1795, and thereafter the Mundurucú were the friends and military allies of the whites. The capitulation of the Mundurucú was a recognition of both superior force and the material advantages to be derived from intercourse with the whites. The Mundurucú continued their pursuit of warfare against other tribes, although occasionally as mercenaries of the colonists. Their special fame derives from headhunting, one of the major goals of their wars.

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171 [273] Some customs and institutions might be mentioned that distinguished the Mundurucú from their Tupian neighbors. The Mundurucú have never manufactured any of the common intoxicants of the region, although they are now fond of alcoholic beverages. In the sphere of material

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

614 mission, who described a rather complex system of 34 patrilineal clans, some of which were linked in unnamed phratries, and which were parceled almost equally between patrilineal, exogamic moieties. This report is substantially correct, but for the minor fact that Mundurucú informants can list 38 clans, and the actual number, before depopulation set in, must have been well above 40. Actually, only 30 clans are currently extant.

DESCENT AND RESIDENCE

616 Although the clans are formally exogamic, their marriage-regulatory functions are superseded by the more inclusive moiety system. The moieties, called "Red" and "White" by the Mundurucú, comprehend 16 and 22 clans. In addition to their marriage-regulatory functions, the moieties partake of the characteristics of reciprocity, rivalry, and antithesis, which, as Lowie notes, are commonly found in moiety systems.[4] During many ceremonies and on all festive occasions intersexual joking between members of opposite moieties is acceptable and expected; and in the course of everyday village life, one may act with much greater levity toward a person of the complementary group. While the joking aspect of moiety relations may indicate behavior appropriate to prospective sexual partners, latent affinal antagonism is manifest in their reciprocal duties and rights. Every clan in each moiety is designated as the *iboiwatitit* of certain clans of the opposite. This mutual relationship entails the duty to bury each others' dead. The Mundurucú look upon this not only as an obligation, but as a right and a privilege, or, as they sometimes phrase it, a mode of revenge. This is not merely symbolic phraseology. During the period when raiding still occurred, it was considered necessary that every dead

[578] [764] 616 727

[4] Lowie, 1948, p. 242.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

warrior be buried by members of the opposite moiety in his homeland, no matter how far from home he had fallen. A member of his iboiwatitit was therefore responsible for bringing his humerus back to the village for proper interment, in lieu of the body. Since a seriously wounded warrior had to be left behind, and would obviously die of hunger or at the hands of the enemy, the iboiwatitit member cut off the arm bone while he was still alive. It was realized that the man would then die, but informants say that the iboiwatitit would not be denied its pleasure.

Other moiety-linked roles were exercised during ceremonies. The members of the *Biuši anyen* (Mothers of the Tapir) society recruited their unwilling neophytes from the opposite moiety during the Ceremony of the Game, and children were ritually "captured" for instruction in warrior songs by members of the other moiety during the war ceremonies. The disappearance of the ceremonies has eliminated these moiety prerogatives, but the joking and burial functions remain. Other extant manifestations of membership may be found in the practice of dyeing a child's carrying sling with his moiety color and in the sleeping arrangements of the men's house.

Although the clans bear eponymous names, they lack most totemic features. Clan members do not observe any special relationship with the animal, plant, fish, or bird for which their descent group is named, nor do they recognize any personal affiliation with these objects. Each clan has an ancestral spirit, referred to as a *tubö;* this term is also used to denote the culture heros and can be loosely translated as "great ancestor." The tubö of a clan bears the same name as the clan. Thus, the tubö of the macaw clan is the macaw. Suggestive though this may be of belief in descent from the eponymous object, the mythology in no way supports such a conclusion. In fact, no formal

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

THE TRIBE

Membership in the tribe was a social rather than a genetic matter. Children captured in war were fully incorporated into the society and are said to have remained loyal even in wars against the villages where they were born. The unity of the group was symbolized by absolute linguistic and cultural homogeneity, and the identity of its members was manifest in the possession of a clan name and the elaborate facial and body tatooing that until recent years was the hallmark of all Mundurucú.

The villages had independent subsistence economies, but for an occasional timbó fishing trip in which two communities might coöperate. But a number of villages usually participated in war expeditions and the major ceremonies. These occasions provided the opportunity for scattered clansmen to reunite and for people of diverse residence to coöperate in valued activity.

Warfare was of special importance in this regard, because it called for a high degree of organization and cooperation. When the initiative was taken by the men of one village to go on the warpath, the chief delegated a member of the *Muchacha anyen*, a society composed of particularly valiant and learned warriors, to visit other communities and extend invitations to take part in the hostilities. Only a part of the men of any one village accepted the invitations, and the rest remained behind to protect the women, children, and old people and to continue hunting and horticultural activities. Thus, intervillage coöperation allowed the Mundurucú to raise sizable war parties without imperiling the economies and defenses of the villages.

The structure of Mundurucú tribalism was given within the rules of descent and residence. The dispersal of pa-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Few techniques for pleasing these animal spirits are now practiced, but in former times there were many. Powerful shamans, of whom there are now said to be but few, used to travel magically to the "Land of the Game" to "feed" the animal spirits, and the two most important ceremonies also had this purpose. These two rites, called the *Araiarai* and the *Dajearuparip* were held, as all Mundurucú ceremonials, during the rainy season, and were almost identical but for duration; the former was said to have occupied almost the whole rainy season, while the latter lasted ten days. In both, the game animals were honored and their spirit protectors summoned and offered a food particularly pleasing to them. Annual observance was not mandatory, but either the long or the short festival was usually held every year. Villages usually rotated the duty of staging the rite, and the residents of several communities were invited. A number of powerful shamans were a prerequisite to the ceremony and had to be recruited from many villages, for only they could ward off the attacks of evil spirits that were attracted by the ritual food offerings.

Other ceremonies were also held to celebrate the trophy heads taken during war. These rites lapsed, of course, with the end of headhunting in 1912. The game-animal ceremonies persisted into relatively recent times, however. The last Araiarai was held in the early 1930's, and the shorter Dajearuparip lasted until about 1945. The Mundurucú explain the lapse of the ceremonial cycle as caused by the contemporary lack of powerful shamans. There is some merit in this view, for sorcery executions, the migration to the Cururú River, and general loss of population have greatly lowered the number of shamans available in the savannah villages. Also, the Mundurucú look upon themselves as being in a degenerated state; they feel that their